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ABSTRACT

This study was part of a larger study examining the attitudes of various groups toward elections, campaigns, and a variety of issues. This portion of the study dealt with students, 336 of whom were interviewed. In addition, 40 questionnaires were randomly drawn from two groups of students--those who registered to vote and those who did not. The two questions the study sought to answer were: What are the basic attitude patterns of students toward elections? and Is there a difference in the attitude patterns of the students who registered to vote and those who did not? The Q factoring of results provided a four factor solution which accounted for 34.62 percent of the variance. This solution provided five distinct types or patterns of responses: (1) equivocal for most matters, (2) concerned with altering the financial arrangements for financing election campaigns, (3) notable for its dislike of the media, (4) politically realistic, and (5) politically idealistic. There was no difference in the patterns of responses of the students who registered to vote and those who did not register. The data partially confirmed a Gallup Poll taken in the summer of 1974. (Author/RB)

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STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS ELECTION CAMPAIGNS: A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This study was part of a larger study examining the attitudes of various groups towards elections, campaigns and a variety of issues. This portion of the study dealt with students. 336 students were interviewed and 40 questionnaires were randomly drawn from two groups of students--those who registered to vote and those who did not. The results were Q factored.

The two questions the study sought to answer were: 1. What are the basic attitude patterns of students towards elections? 2. Is there a difference in the attitude patterns of the students who registered to vote and those who did not?

The Q factoring provided a four factor solution which accounted for 34.62% of the variance. This solution provided 5 distinct types or patterns of responses. Type 1 was equivocal for most matters, Type 2 was concerned with altering the financial arrangements for financing election campaigns, Type 3 was notable for its dislike of the media, Type 4 was politically realistic and Type 5 was politically idealistic.

There was no difference in the patterns of responses of the students who registered to vote and those who did not register. This was found by employing a binomial test.

The data that was found served to partially confirm data gathered by Gallup in the summer of 1974.

INTRODUCTION

To many social scientists the fall of 1974 may have appeared as a gold mine, Watergate, the political demise of Richard Nixon, inflation and recession all were excellent topics for study. At Southern Illinois University at Carbondale a large project was organized to study the election of November 1974 and how various groups perceived the campaign, candidates, and some of the issues of importance in that election--such as those mentioned above. The election that was studied was the struggle for the 24th Congressional District of Illinois between Val Oshel, Republican, and the eventual winner Paul Simon, Democrat. A variety of studies was undertaken to examine the attitude patterns of various people involved in the election: registered voters, precinct committeemen, paid party workers. This paper attempted to examine the attitude patterns of yet another group, students both registered to vote and those who were not.

The 26th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified by the states and withstood constitutional challenge in the courts in 1971. Thus students between the ages of 18 and 20 went to the polls for the first time to vote in Congressional elections in 1972. At that time many articles appeared in the popular press speculating on the effects of the influx of so many new voters on the elections of 1972. Newsweek reported on the massive efforts being attempted by various groups to register the youth vote,[1.] and more importantly reported on the fear of various university communities that the students might overrun the local elections and take over the various positions that were to be filled.[2.] Other articles dealt with the effort of politicians to attract the youth vote.[3.] Many articles took a down to earth approach on how to handle

the massive influx of new voters and provided information on how and where to register. Typical of these was an article that appeared in Harper's advising students of where they could register and who to contact if they were stopped from registering by local authorities.[4] Perhaps the New York Times best exemplified the concern of the popular media in the youth vote as it dealt in different articles with the registration of new voters, how these voters might have a large effect on the election and how on the other hand they might not have any effect at all.[5] However, in most cases the articles dealt with how many young people would register to vote, how many would vote, and how would they vote; little attention was paid to the views of the youth vote.

One index that has paid some attention to youth and especially the students is the Gallup Opinion Index. Yet even these data have been broad in nature, considering in the main how many students were registered in either party,[6] how many would vote for Richard Nixon or George McGovern. Only twice since 1970 has Gallup attempted more than a cursory glance at student attitudes, in February 1971 and again in July 1974. But even these data do no more than describe some very general opinions concerning how many students would tolerate violent change or how many smoked marijuana. The most cogent element of the 1974 data dealt with the rating by students of what they considered the most important problems facing the United States. Gallup reported these as the most important: 1. Distrust in Government and Watergate; 2. the Energy Crisis; 3. Nixon Leadership; 4. the Economy; and 5. Breakdown of Moral Values.[7] This brief review of Gallup's findings is not to criticize his poll but rather to point out the lack of empirical data available concerning the attitudes of students towards elections.

Even in the scholarly journals there is a dearth of articles concerning the student voter. One article that was found that dealt with students complained of this lack of knowledge concerning the political awareness of students.[8]

Thus this study seems to be breaking new ground in attempting to provide a preliminary description of some attitude patterns of students towards elections. Some might argue that it is more important to determine the attitude patterns of the youth vote in general. However important that may be it must be considered of equal value to determine these patterns among students for as many have pointed out students are the leaders of our society tomorrow. It will also be useful to discover if there are differences among those students who register to vote and those who did not.

METHODOLOGY

This study was undertaken in the first three weeks of October 1974 at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. In all 336 students were interviewed, of which 104 were definitely registered to vote (these students were interviewed after they had completed the registration process at the university's registration center), another 147 said they were registered to vote but had no evidence to prove this statement and 85 said they were not registered and did not intend to register. For the purposes of this study only those who were definitely registered to vote and those who were definitely not registered were employed. It was hoped by using these two different groups that there would be a difference in their attitudes towards the election and the issues involved. From each of these two groups 20 students were drawn and

their questionnaires were analyzed to isolate the major patterns of responses. If the two groups, registered and non-registered, have different attitudes then they should have separate patterns of response.

The questionnaire employed was developed from previous questionnaires employed in political studies. The questionnaire was pretested and revised. The total number of items used in the final questionnaire was 58. To supplement the information found in the questionnaire 13 demographic items were employed.

The responses of the 40 respondents, drawn at random from the larger set of 104 registered and 85 unregistered voters, were Q-factor analyzed using a principal factors solution with rotation to oblique simple structure. Squared multiple correlations (SMC's) were used as communality estimates. A minimum eigenvalue of 1.0 was the criterion for stopping factoring. Factor scores (z-scores) were computed for each of the 58 statements for each of the derived factors. Thus, the procedure creates empirical typologies, attitude groups, on the basis of patterns of responses to the 58 statements.

QUESTIONS

The study sought to provide information dealing with two broad questions: 1. What are the basic attitude patterns of students towards elections? and 2. Is there a difference in the attitude patterns of students who registered to vote and those that did not?

RESULTS

The factor analysis isolated four patterns of responses. The solution accounted for 34.62% of the variance. The solution provided 5 types of groupings by splitting one of the factors into two groups. This is

done when the sum of negative loadings for a factor exceeds a criterion percentage (in this case 25%) of the sum of the absolutes for that factor. When a bipolar factor is encountered, it is translated into two Q types. This is done by taking the negative loadings on the bipolar factor, making them positive, and forming an additional type from these altered loadings.[9]

In terms of the two groups no single type consisted solely of one group. Thus the second question can be answered negatively, in other words there doesn't seem to be any difference between those who registered to vote and those who did not.[10]

Consensus Items

In all there were 9 consensus items (items number 12, 13, 19, 31, 36, 37, 46, 47 and 56). However, only two of these were given much emphasis. These were:

> 36. Political parties are more interested in staying in power than in getting things done for the voters. (z=1.257)
> 37. Inflation is the most important issue of the congressional campaign in this district this year. (1.006)

These statements were ones with which all groups agreed.

Type 1

There were six individuals in this type, 1 female and 5 males. There were 4 freshmen, 1 sophomore and 1 senior. The average age of the type was 19.3. Four of the type were registered to vote and 2 were not.

The pattern of responses provided by type 1 was difficult to interpret, as there did not seem to be any predominant topic of interest to them. Type 1 responses seem to support the idea of opening up the financial relationships of politicians but at the same time are opposed to public financing of elections. The type also equivocates over the

length of campaigns feeling that campaigns are too long but opposing any effort to shorten the campaign period. At the same time they do not feel it neccesary to change the manner in which congressmen campaign for office feeling that political rallies are worthwhile and that expenditures for campaign advertising are not wasted. They are opposed to the pork barrel school of politics i.e. that a congressman should provide better roads and build up the district's economy. The type also adopts a cynical view of the voting public in that it believes the public to be disinterested in the campaign and who their elected officials are.

The statements which this type most agreed with were:

11. Sometimes congressional campaigns get so complicated I can't really understand what the campaign is all about. (z=2.216)
10. Political parties and special interest groups should have open arrangements so the voter knows who is backing each candidate. (1.459)
12. Inflation is the most important issue of the congressional campaign in this district this year. (1.459)
17. Six months after an election, most people can't tell you who their U.S. Congressman is. (1.459)
55. Most voters don't care who gets elected to Congress as long as the winner works hard for his district. (1.459)

The statements the type most disagreed with were:

6. Local elections are more important than elections to Congress. (-2.801)
27. Before I decide on a candidate to vote for in a congressional election, I sit down and really think about the issues and personalities involved. (-1.880)
8. The most important thing a congressman from southern Illinois can do is see that the Federal government spends more money in this district than the district's voters pay in Federal taxes. (-1.686)
24. Most money spent on political advertising is wasted since almost no one believes campaign advertising. (-1.551)
48. Political rallies are just big shows where candidates get to shout meaningless slogans and show off. (-1.530)

Perhaps the best interpretation of the type could be that this group of individuals feel that there is something wrong with the system

but that it might not be worthwhile to change the system radically from its present state.

This type differed from all other types on 5 items, 4, 6, 24, 27 and 33. (See Table A) A difference is calculated as at least an absolute value of 1.0 from all other types on that item. The type was most opposed to having the congressman build up the local economy, thinking about the issues and personalities in making a choice between candidates in an election, that local elections were more important than elections to Congress, and that political advertising was a waste of money. This type was the only type to agree with the statement that the candidate listened more to friends than to the electorate.

Type 2

Type 2 had the largest number of individuals in it, 17. There were 14 males, 2 females and 1 unknown. There were 3 freshmen, 3 sophomores, 7 juniors, 2 seniors and 2 graduate students. This group had the highest average age at 22.4.[11] Ten students were registered to vote and 7 were not.

Type 2 may be best interpreted as being predominately interested in altering the manner in which election campaigns are financed. The individuals that made up the type also seemed concerned with the economic issue in this campaign. They were also strong supporters of the First Amendment opposing any alteration of media functions in election campaigns. Also they believe that political parties are too powerful and are more interested in their own success than aiding the country.

The statements they most agreed with were:

40. Political parties have too much power over the candidates. (z=2.033)

10. Political parties and special interest groups should have open arrangements so the voter knows who is backing each candidate. (1.886)
12. Inflation is the most important issue of the congressional campaign in this district this year. (1.571)
38. Congressional campaigns should be financed by public funds to keep special interest groups from controlling the candidates and congressmen by large campaign contributions. (1.355)
17. Six months after an election, most people can't tell you who their U.S. Congressman is. (1.336)

The statements this type disagreed most with were:

9. Newspapers and radio and television stations should not print or broadcast editorials telling people who to vote for. (-2.158)
42. It is only fair that the winner of an election campaign show preference to the the people who did the most to pay for his campaign. (-1.973)
7. Political advertising should be banned from radio and television. (-1.817)
39. If a congressman is an honest man you don't need to worry about how he will vote when he gets to Washington. (-1.717)
6. Local elections are more important than elections to the U.S. Congress. (-1.488)

The element of money was so important to this type that it stands out in the differences between this type and all other types. In all it differed on 5 items, 18, 35, 38, 45, and 49. (See Table A) This type was strongest in supporting the idea of public financing, so strong in fact that this type was the only type to feel that such financing would not result in a large tax increase. They also believed that the individual who spends the most money in a congressional campaign usually wins. Finally they were strongest in disagreeing with the idea that the congressman should try to keep the district the same rather than change it by bringing in new industry.

Type 3

There were 5 individuals in this type, 1 female, 3 males and an unknown. There were 2 freshmen, 1 sophomore and 2 seniors. The

average age was 19.6. Three were registered to vote and 2 were not.

An interpretation of the pattern of responses of this type is confusing, however, one element does stand out and that is a dislike for the media--especially broadcast media. They were opposed to political advertising on radio and television, and that the mass media should not editorialize in favor of candidates. They also feel that both the candidate and his advertising are preferable to reading news stories about the candidate. Other elements of this type were a belief that politicians are not dishonest, that limitations be placed on campaign spending and that costs for campaigning should be reduced by limiting the time span of election campaigns. They also believed that people don't pay much attention to elections and that spending the most money is no guarantee of victory in congressional elections. Finally this type is also concerned with political parties being too powerful.

The statements this type agreed with most strongly were:

7. Political advertising should be banned from radio and television. (2.116)
49. It is more important for a congressman to work to keep southern Illinois like it is than to work to bring in a lot of industry and change the character of the region. (1.546)
26. Election campaigns last so long it is easy to get bored with the whole election process. (1.493)
40. Political parties have too much power over the candidates. (1.378)
28. Special interest groups, such as business and labor, should be prohibited from giving money to election campaigns. (1.326)

The statements the type most disagreed with were:

42. It is only fair that the winner of an election campaign show preference to the people who did the most to pay for his campaign. (-2.224)
57. It doesn't make any difference to me who wins the congressional election since the only elections

that really count are for governor and President. (-1.923)
30. I prefer reading news stories about a candidate than listening to the candidate himself. (-1.597)
52. Congressmen have to serve special interest groups (business, labor, etc.) or they won't get enough money to pay their campaign expenses. (-1.589)
45. The candidate who spends the most money usually wins the congressional campaign. (-1.589)

This type differed from all other types on 6 items, 7, 10, 22, 30, 34 and 49. (See Table A) It was the only group that agreed with the idea of keeping the district the same. It was the only type to disagree with the idea of open arrangements between politicians and special interest groups, and that most people vote for the party rather than the individual or issues. It was strongest in agreeing with the banning of advertisements from radio and television. It was also strongest in abhorring news stories concerning the candidate to hearing the candidate himself and preferred hearing advertising to reading news stories.

Type 4

There were 7 individuals in this type, 5 females and 2 males. There were 2 freshmen, 2 sophomores, 2 juniors and 1 senior. This group was the youngest with an average age of 19.14. Five were registered and 2 were not.

Type 4 may be interpreted as political realists who are cynical of the system. They believe that political parties have too much power and wouldn't trust a congressman to act on his own accord. They believe that congressmen must make promises they can't keep to be elected and that congressmen must serve special interest groups to be elected. They also took a rather dismal view of the electorate believing that voters don't care who wins elections and that voters are too busy to pay attention to elections. Furthermore they believe that voters want to support a winner so that if it appears that a candidate trails in the

polls the voters will desert him for the winner.

The statements this type most agreed with were:

36. Political parties are more interested in staying in power than in getting things done for the voters. (1.784)
53. In order to get elected, a congressional candidate must make all kinds of promises he knows he can't keep. (1.437)
43. Public opinion polls hurt the candidate who seems to be running behind in a campaign because most people don't like to vote for a loser. (1.418)
11. Sometimes congressional campaigns get so complicated I can't really understand what the campaign is all about. (1.392)
10. Political parties and special interest groups should have open arrangements so the voter knows who is backing each candidate. (1.275)

The statements the type most disagreed with were:

57. It doesn't make any difference to me who wins the congressional election since the only elections that really count are for governor and President. (-3.148)
30. I prefer reading news stories concerning the candidate than listening to the candidate himself. (-2.897)
20. The Watergate affair is not an issue in the congressional election in southern Illinois this year. (-1.759)
7. Political advertising should be banned from radio and television. (-1.748)
45. The candidate who spends the most money usually wins a congressional election. (-1.265)

Type 4 differed from all other types on 6 items, 20, 28, 30, 38, 53 and 57. On two items this group was the only group to be opposed to the campaign finance reform of public funding. It was also the only group to believe that candidates must make all sorts of promises to be elected. The type was strongest in believing that Watergate was indeed an issue and that local elections are as important as federal elections. They were also strongest in believing that they would prefer hearing the candidate than reading news stories concerning him.

Type 5

Type 5 had 5 people in it, 1 female, 2 males and 2 unknowns. There

were 2 freshmen, 1 sophomore and 2 seniors. The average age of the group was 20.4. Three were registered to vote and 2 were not.

Type 5 can best be described as political idealists in a number of ways. They feel that people consider the individual and the issues when they choose a candidate. They seek some campaign reform in hoping for more open arrangements. They believe politicians are honest and don't have to lie to be elected. They also believe that voters are interested in elections. They also feel that local elections are as important if not more important than federal elections.

The statements this type most agreed with were:

18. I usually vote for the man not the party or issues he stands for. (2.469)
10. Political parties and special interest groups should have open arrangements so the voter knows who is backing each candidate. (1.962)
43. Public opinion polls hurt the candidate who seems to be running behind in a campaign because most people don't like to vote for a loser. (1.828)
1. Election campaigns should be shortened to reduce the cost of running. (1.737)
15. Congressmen have to be more in touch with the voters than do other politicians because congressmen have to be reelected every two years. (1.694)

The statements the type most disagreed with were:

9. Newspapers and radio and television stations should not print or broadcast editorials telling people who to vote for. (-2.291)
57. It doesn't make any difference to me who wins the congressional election since the only elections that really count are for governor and President. (-2.147)
42. It is only fair that the winner of an election show preference to the people who did the most to pay for his campaign. (-2.147)
14. In spite of all the time and money spent most people don't pay attention to a campaign for U.S. Congress. (-2.055)
55. Most voters don't really care who gets elected to Congress so long as the winner works hard for his district. (-1.517)

This type differed from all other types on 9 items, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 26 and 55. (See Table A) They were the only type to disagree

with all three items dealing with voter apathy. They were also the only ones to feel that elections are not too complicated or too long. They were also the only type to respond positively to the idea that local elections are more important than congressional elections. They were strongest in claiming they voted for the man not the party or the issues. Also they were the only group that felt it was right for the congressman to see that more money be spent in the district than are paid out in Federal taxes. Finally, they were strongest in believing that a congressman has to be in closer touch with the electorate than do other elected officials.

DISCUSSION

The results are not clear cut so that it is important not to jump to any extreme conclusions. What was found were five distinct patterns of responses. These patterns of responses were consistent within themselves to a great degree, however, there were occasional contradictions. For example in Type 3 there is a rejection of public financing in one statement (item 5) and its acceptance in another (item 38). These contradictions may for the most part be discounted because they do not affect the element that makes that type differ from the others.

The patterns of responses were varied, some seeking a great deal of financial reform others opposing such reform. Some opposing the media others supporting them. What can be said for all groups is that political parties are viewed with distrust and that the economic issue was considered to be very important.

This last point dealing with the economy is consistent with the Gallup Poll data reported previously. Gallup's students rated five important issues. This study was able to gather some data on three of them: the Economy, Distrust in Government/Watergate and the Energy Crisis.

The SIU students agreed with the Gallup students in rating the economy as an important issue. All types rated inflation and unemployment as important issues for the election of 1974. But for the other two issues there were differences between the Gallup study and this one.

The Energy Crisis of Gallup was not seen as an important issue by all types. Types 2, 4 and 5 felt that it was an issue in the election campaign of 1974. Types and 1 and 3 did not. But even the types that felt it was an important issue did not express this strongly (none of the typal z's were greater than .8).

On the matter of Distrust in Government/Watergate, the responses were mixed. On item 20 which stated that Watergate was not an issue in this campaign all groups disagreed. On the matter of distrust no questions dealt with the matter of trust in government directly but five questions dealt with it indirectly (21, 29, 36, 39 and 53) . All types agreed with statement 36 that political parties are more interested in staying in power. But on item 21 all types refused to state that all politicians are dishonest but would not also go along with statement 39 that an honest congressman could act on his own in Washington. On items 29 and 33 there are differences among the types with one type disagreeing (4) with the other types. This is consistent with the various typologies as Type 4 was the sole type to feel that politicians are most interested in getting elected. What can be culled from this is that there is distrust in government to some extent but that distrust has not yet become overwhelming.

SUMMARY

The questionnaires of 40 students, 20 who were registered to vote and 20 who were not, were Q factored and this resulted in 5 types. Type 1 was equivocal for most matters, Type 2 was concerned with altering the

financial arrangements of campaigns, Type 3 was notable for its dislike of the media, Type 4 were political realists and Type 5 political idealists. There was no significant difference between those who registered to vote and those who did not in their patterns of responses.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "A Quiet Revolution?" in Newsweek, vol. 77, pages 34 and 37, June 14, 1971.

2. See "Gown versus Town," in Newsweek, vol. 78, pp. 27-28, August 30, 1971.

3. See Richard Reeves, "Hustling the Youth Vote," in Playboy, vol. 19:11, pages 118-119, 122, 204-206, November 1972.

4. See "The Problem of Student Registration," in Harper's, vol. 243, p. 38, September 1971.

5. See Jack Rosenthal, "5 to 7% of Voters May Be 18-20," in New York Times, January 2, 1972, p. 48. See also Jack Rosenthal, "US Voter Rolls Up By 13 Million, in New York Times, November 2, 1972, pages 1 and 35. See also Jack Rosenthal, "Youth Vote Held of Little Impact," in New York Times, January 4, 1973, p. 19.

6. See "1972 Vote Analysis," in Gallup Opinion Index, no. 90, pp.8-10, December 1972.

7. See "College Students Today," in Gallup Opinion Index, no. 109, pp. 14-27, July 1974.

8. See Virginia P. Lacy, "Political Knowledge of College Activist Groups," in Journal of Politics, vol. 33:3, pp. 840-45, August 1971.

9. See Dr. Norman Van Tubergen, Program-Q Analysis, University of Iowa, p. 20.

10. No significant difference found by use of binomial test at p.=.05.

11. No significant difference found by use of t test at p.=.05.

TABLE A

Description of 58 Statements and Typal Z Scores

Item Descriptions	Typal Z's				
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
N's For Each Type Are	6	17	5	7	5
1. Election campaigns should be shortened to reduce the cost of running for Congress.	-1.2	1.1	1.1	-0.3	1.7
2. The most important thing for a candidate to do is get his name known by every voter in the district.	-0.6	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.5
3. The energy crisis is a major issue in the southern Illinois congressional election this year.	-0.2	0.8	-0.6	0.7	0.5
4. A southern Illinois congressman should spend most of his time working to build the district's economy.	-1.5	-0.2	0.8	0.1	0.5
5. Financing election campaigns from public funds would help eliminate graft and favoritism for special interest groups.	0.8	1.2	-0.5	-1.1	0.2
6. Local elections are more important than elections to the U.S. Congress.	-2.8	-1.5	-0.5	-0.6	1.1
7. Political advertising should be banned from radio and television.	0.6	-1.8	2.1	-1.7	-0.1
8. The most important thing a congressman from southern Illinois can do is see that the Federal government spends more money in this district than the district's voters pay in Federal taxes.	-1.7	-1.4	-0.7	-0.9	0.6
9. Newspapers and radio and television stations should not print or broadcast editorials telling people who to vote for.	0.7	-2.2	1.2	0.4	-2.3
10. Political parties and special interest groups should have open arrangements so the voter knows who is backing each candidate.	1.5	1.9	-0.5	1.3	2.0
11. Sometimes congressional campaigns get so complicated I can't really understand what the campaign is all about.	2.2	0.4	0.8	1.4	-0.6
12. Inflation is the most important issue of the congressional campaign in this district this year.	1.5	1.6	0.9	0.7	0.7
13. Most campaign news in southern Illinois is slanted to favor the candidates the the newspapers want elected.	0.2	0.0	-0.1	0.6	0.0
14. In spite of all the time and money spent, most people don't pay much attention to a campaign for U.S. Congress.	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.6	-2.1
15. Congressmen have to be more in touch with the voters than do other politicians because congressmen have to be re-elected every two years.	0.3	-0.1	0.5	0.1	1.7
16. No candidate for Congress should be allowed to spend more than $100,000 on his campaign.	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.1
17. Six months after an election, most people can't tell you who their U.S. Congressman is.	1.5	1.3	0.5	1.1	-0.8
18. I usually vote for the man not the party or issues he stands for.	-0.9	0.9	-0.8	-0.4	2.5
19. Most campaign news in southern Illinois is slanted to favor the candidates the radio and television stations want elected.	-0.2	-0.2	0.3	-0.6	0.0

TABLE A (continued)

Item Descriptions	Typal Z's 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
20. The Watergate affair is not an issue in the congressional election in southern Illinois this year.	-0.1	-0.8	-0.2	-1.8	-0.1
21. Politicians can be divided into two classes, the really crooked ones and the ones who become just a little dishonest because it is the only way they can get elected and re-elected.	-0.5	-1.4	-0.7	-0.2	-1.1
22. In congressional elections, most voters just vote for their party because they usually don't know much about the candidates or issues.	0.7	0.7	-0.7	1.0	0.6
23. Getting better roads for his district is one of the most important things a southern Illinois congressman can do.	-1.1	0.3	0.3	-0.4	1.0
24. Most money spent for political advertising is wasted since almost no one believes campaign advertising.	-1.6	-0.5	0.8	0.1	-0.4
25. The impressions that a candidate gets about his district while he is out campaigning strongly influences his voting when he gets to Washington.	-0.8	-0.5	0.9	0.5	-0.3
26. Election campaigns last so long it is easy to get bored with the whole election process.	1.1	0.3	1.5	0.4	-0.8
27. Before I decide on a candidate to vote for in a congressional election, I sit down and really think about the issues and personalities involved.	-1.9	0.7	0.9	0.4	1.0
28. Special interest groups, such as business and labor, should be prohibited from giving money to election campaigns.	1.1	1.2	1.3	-1.0	0.7
29. An honest congressman is one who admits he works for some special interest group and does not change sides.	-0.5	-0.1	-1.1	0.2	-0.2
30. I prefer reading news stories concerning a candidate than listening to the candidate himself.	-0.4	0.4	-1.6	-2.9	-0.4
31. The ideas of the candidates for Congress don't get much news coverage in most local newspapers or on radio and on television stations in this district this year.	0.0	-0.3	-0.3	0.1	-0.3
32. Most of the election talk you hear on the street is nothing more than what we read about in the papers or hear on radio and television every day.	-0.1	0.0	-0.7	0.6	0.6
33. The candidates in southern Illinois are paying more attention to what their friends think than to the wishes of the voters.	1.1	0.1	-0.5	0.0	-0.2
34. News stories about the election are more honest than the candidate's advertising.	0.4	0.4	-1.4	-0.1	0.2
35. Financing election campaigns from public funds would probably result in a big tax increase.	1.2	-1.1	0.6	0.7	0.5
36. Political parties are more interested in staying in power than in getting things done for the voters.	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.8	0.9

TABLE A (continued)

Item Descriptions

	Typal Z's 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
37. About all the congressional campaign has done this year is make me more sure that my party's candidate is the best one.	-1.2	-1.0	-0.4	-1.2	-0.4
38. Congressional campaigns should be financed by public funds to keep special interest groups from controlling the candidates and congressmen by large campaign contributions.	0.1	1.4	0.1	-1.1	0.1
39. If a congressman is an honest man, you don't need to worry about how he will vote when he gets to Washington.	-0.3	-1.7	-1.4	-1.1	-0.7
40. Political parties have too much power over the candidates.	-0.7	2.0	1.4	-0.3	0.1
41. The congressional election campaign in southern Illinois is just a popularity contest this year.	0.2	0.0	-0.4	-1.0	-0.6
42. It is only fair that the winner of an election show preference to the people who did the most to pay for his campaign.	-0.1	-2.0	-2.2	0.1	-2.1
43. Public opinion polls hurt the candidate who seems to be running behind in a campaign because most people don't like to vote for a loser.	0.4	-1.2	-0.5	1.4	1.8
44. A person can get better information about the congressional election in southern Illinois this year by talking with other people than by reading the newspapers or listening to radio and television.	0.2	-0.7	-0.5	0.9	0.0
45. The candidate who spends the most money usually wins a congressional election.	-0.9	0.4	-1.6	-1.3	-0.9
46. Unemployment is a major issue in the southern Illinois congressional election this year.	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.5
47. In most election campaigns the candidates just run around giving quick and easy answers to really complicated problems.	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.5
48. Political rallies are just big shows where candidates get to shout meaningless slogans and show off.	-1.5	-0.6	1.2	-0.4	0.6
49. It is more important for a congressman to work to keep southern Illinois like it is than to work to bring in a lot of industry and change the character of the region.	0.5	-1.2	1.5	0.3	0.4
50. A congressman should be a life-long resident of the district he represents.	-0.1	-0.9	0.7	-0.2	-0.2
51. Getting more Federal welfare money for the district will be an important job for southern Illinois' congressman during the next few years.	-0.5	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2
52. Congressmen have to serve special interest groups (business, labor, etc.) or they can't get enough money to pay their campaign expenses.	0.4	0.4	-1.6	1.1	-1.3
53. In order to get elected, a congressional candidate must make all kinds of promises he knows he can't keep.	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5	1.4	-1.2
54. Most peopleare too busy making a living to worry about who is elected to Congress.	0.9	0.9	-1.4	1.3	-1.1

TABLE A (continued)

Item Descriptions	Typal Z's 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
55. Most voters don't really care who gets elected to Congress as long as the winner works hard for his district.	1.5	0.3	0.8	0.0	-1.5
56. In this year's congressional campaign in southern Illinois, both candidates have clearly thought through the issues facing the district.	0.2	-0.4	0.4	-0.5	-0.1
57. It doesn't make any difference to me who wins the congressional election since the only elections that really count are for governor and President.	-1.4	-1.4	-1.9	-3.1	-2.1
58. When I discuss the election campaign with friends, most of the things we have to talk about are what we have read in the papers or heard about on radio or television.	0.2	0.4	-0.3	0.9	-0.2

TABLE B

Correlations Among Types

	2	3	4	5
1. Equivocators	0.320*	0.200	0.400*	-0.152
2. Campaign funders		0.143	0.266	0.333*
3. Media opponents			0.152	0.225
4. Political realists				0.141
5. Political idealists				---

*p less than 0.05.